

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
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AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY PORT MORESBY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
SECSTATE WASHDC 2161

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CANBERRA 337

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP (WOLFF, LESTER), AS, PFOR, MILI
SUBJ: CODEL WOLFF: MEETING WITH AUSTRALIAN DEFENSE OFFICIALS

1. SUMMARY: CONGRESSMEN WOLFF, METCHELL, BADHAM, HIRC
STAFF MEMBERS, AND OTHERS FROM CODEL MET WITH SIR ARTHUR
TANGE (PERMANENT SECRETARY, AUSTRALIAN DEPARTMENT OF
DEFENSE), GORDON JOCKEL (DIRECTOR, JOINT INTELLIGENCE
ORGANIZATON), AIR MARSHAL SIR JAMES ROWLAND (ACTING
CHIEF OF THE AUSTRLIAN DEFENSE FORCE STAFF) AND OTHER
AUSTRALIAN DEFENSE OFFICIALS DURING A NEARLY TWO-HOUR
SESSION JANUARY 10. THE AUSTRALIANS PROVIDED AN OVERVIEW
OF THE STRATEGIC OUTLOOK AS SEEN FROM "DOWN UNDER," A
SUMMARY OF AUSTRALIAN DEFENSE POLICY, A REVIEW OF
INTELLIGENCE PERCEPTIONS IN THEIR AREA OF STRATEGIC
INTEREST, AND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CAPABILITIES, ACTIVITIES,
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AND INTERESTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN DEFENSE FORCES. CONGRESS-
MEN WOLFF, MITCHELL AND BADHAM SHARED THEIR VIEWS ON
CURRENT US DEFENSE AND FOEIGN POLICY AS IT RELATES TO
THE EAST ASIA/PACIFIC AREA, AND ELICITED AUSTRALIAN VIEWS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ARMS SUPPLY, KOREA FORCE DRAW-DOWN, AND
OTHER QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. JOCKEL BEGAN THE SESSION WITH AN "INTELLIGENCE OVERVIEW." AUSTRALIA'S ASSESSMENT IS THAT IT FACES NO DISCERNIBLE "STRATEGIC THREAT"; ITS NEIGHBORS ARE PREOCCUPIED WITH DOMESTIC PROBLEMS CAUSED BY POPULATION PRESSURES AND THE NEED TO PROVIDE POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, RATHER THAN ENGAGING IN DISTRACTING FOREIGN ADVENTURES. THEY ARE UNABLE TO POSE A THREAT TO AUSTRALIA NOW, AND WILL BE UNABLE TO DO SO IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. ASEAN IS A LINCHPIN OF AUSTRALIA'S HOPES FOR STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION. IT IS PRESENTLY HEAVILY RELIANT UPON THE US AS A SOURCE OF MILITARY SUPPLY, ALTHOUGH ITS MEMBERS PURCHASE SOME DEFENSE EQUIPMENT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. AUSTRALIA SEES ADVANTAGES FOR ITSELF IN THIS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASEAN AND THE US. ALTHOUGH POLITICAL CONDITIONS AMONG AUSTRALIA'S NEIGHBORS ARE CURRENTLY STABLE, THEY FACE FORMIDABLE INTERNAL PROBLEMS. AUSTRALIA NEVERTHELESS BELIEVES ITS NEIGHBORS HAVE BOTH THE RESOURCES AND THE WILL TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL STABILITY AND PURSUE POLICIES FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH. THEY ARE RELATIVELY OPEN SOCIETIES, AND THEIR HISTORIES ARE THOSE OF "CONSENSUS" POLITICS. THEY ARE AN IMPORTANT MODERATE GROUP IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY, AND AS SUCH, THEY ARE ASSETS TO THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA IN OUR COMMON SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL COMPETITION AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. OF PARTICULAR NOTE IS THE CONTINUING EVOLUTION IN INDOCHINA, WHERE THE THREE COMMUNIST SUCCESSOR

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STATES APPEAR TO BE CONCENTRATING MORE ON "STATE-TO-STATE" RELATIONS RATHER THAN SUPPORT OF EXTERNAL INSURGENCIES (PARTICULARLY IN THEIR NON-COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS). THE VIETNAMESE CAPACITY TO HELP SUPPORT INSURGENCIES OUTSIDE ITS BORDERS IS IN ANY EVENT (IN AUSTRALIAN EYES) "LIMITED." THEREFORE, AUSTRALIA BELIEVES THAT THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS FOR THE SOUTHEAST ASIA/SOUTH PACIFIC REGION ARE FOR STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND THAT THESE CONDITIONS WILL PERSIST FOR SOME YEARS.

3. AIR MARSHAL ROWLAND, SPEAKING FOR THE AUSTRALIAN CHIEFS OF STAFF, NOTED THE PRINCIPAL CONSTRAINTS ON AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE POLICY: A SMALL POPULATION, A LARGE AREA TO DEFEND, LACK OF A PERCEPTIBLE AND AGREED-UPON "THREAT", AND THE CONSEQUENT EFFECT THOSE THREE FACTORS HAVE ON A DEFENSE BUDGET -- I.E., A VERY REAL DIFFICULTY IN TRYING TO ASSURE A "RESPONSIBLE" LEVEL OF DEFENSE SPENDING OR DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS. WHAT AUSTRALIA HAS TRIED TO DO IS ACHIEVE "MOBILITY" (BECAUSE OF THE SIZE OF ITS TERRITORY); DEVELOP A WIDE RANGE OF CAPABILITIES (BECAUSE OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF THREAT IT MIGHT CONCEIVABLY FACE); BE SELF-CONTAINED (BECAUSE OF THE HOSTILE

ENVIRONMENT); AND ABOVE ALL, BE "COMPATIBLE" WITH THE
DEFENSE STRUCTURE AND EQUIPMENT OF ITS MOST LIKELY ALLIES
(THE US, NEW ZEALAND AND BRITAIN). THE CHALLENGE FOR THE
AUSTRALIAN DEFENSE FORCES IS TO KEEP SUFFICIENTLY ABREAST
TECHNOLOGICALLY THAT IT CAN MAINTAIN AN ACCEPTABLE DEGREE
OF COMPATIBILITY AND INTER-OPERABILITY -- SO, IF THE NEED
EVER AROSE AGAIN, IT COULD ONCE MORE FIGHT WITH ITS ALLIES
AS IT HAD DONE IN THE PAST. IT PRODUCES SOME WEAPONS
SYSTEMS ITSELF, INCLUDING TWO WHICH MIGHT BE OF INTEREST
TO THE US -- THE "JINDALEE" OVER-THE HORIZON RADAR SYSTEM,
AND THE "KURINGA" BOMBLET (IN BOTH OF WHICH PROJECTS THE
US HAS A CONTINUING INTEREST). WHILE AUSTRALIA PURCHASES
A NUMBER OF "COMPLETE" WEAPONS SYSTEMS, MAINLY FROM THE
US, IT TRIES TO ADAPT THEM TO ITS OWN NEEDS. "WE ARE VERY
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CLOSE TO THE U.S. SERVICES," HE CONCLUDED, " AND WE OWE
THEM A GREAT DEAL."

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4. SIR ARTHUR TANGE WOUND UP THE SESSION WITH AN APPRAISAL OF AUSTRALIA'S POSITION IN ITS REGION. HE NOTED THAT AUSTRALIA'S PARTICIPATION IN WORLD WAR I HAD BEEN ALONG TRADITIONAL LINES, AS A DOMINION PROVIDING TROOPS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE "MOTHER COUNTRY" -- AUSTRALIA ITSELF NOT BEING DIRECTLY INVOLVED. IN WORLD WAR II THERE WAS THE CHALLENGE OF THE ATTACK UPON AUSTRALIA ITSELF, WAS IN ITS IMMEDIATE REGION WHERE THE MOTHER COUNTRY WAS RELATIVELY POWERLESS TO ASSIST, AND IN WHICH AUSTRALIA HAD TO DEVELOP A RELATIONSHIP WITH A NEW ALLY -- THE UNITED STATES. DURING THE KOREAN WAR, AND EVEN MORE SO DURING VIETNAM, AUSTRALIA ALIGNED ITSELF CLOSELY WITH U.S. POLICIES. BUT THE FUTURE NOW HOLDS DIFFERENT CHALLENGES, AS THE U.S. HAS BEGUN TO REAPPRAISE ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE EAST ASIA/PACIFIC REGION. THE KEY TO AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE FUTURE LIES IN ITS HAVING THE SKILLS AND TECHNOLOGY NEEDED TO MAINTAIN ITS CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH ITS VASTLY MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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TECHNOLOGICALLY-ADVANCED PRINCIPAL ALLY. THEREFORE, "TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER" AS A BENEFIT FROM ITS ASSOCIATION WITH THE US, IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO AUSTRALIA. FROM A REALISTIC POINT OF VIEW, AUSTRALIA WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO AFFORD A SUBSTANTIAL ABSOLUTE LEVEL OF SPENDING ON DEFENSE; IT PAYS CASH FOR EQUIPMENT IT BUYS " AND IT ALWAYS WILL." BUT IT SEEKS, IN RETURN, AT LEAST A MINIMAL "OFFSET" THROUGH US PURCHASES IN AUSTRALIA -- "IF YOU (THE U.S.) VALUE HAVING AN ALLY IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, PRESUMABLY YOU ALSO VALUE OUR HAVING A VIABLE DEFENSE INDUSTRY." " WE HAVE REASONABLY COMPETENT MEN WHO ENJOY YOUR CONFIDENT;; WE COLLECT SOME INTELLIGENCE WHICH IS PRESUMABLY OF SOME VALUE TO YOU; AND WE ARE HOST TO A NUMBER OF YOUR FACILITIES WHICH WE ASSUME YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAINTAIN." WE WOULD LIKE, IN THE FUTURE, TO CONCENTRATE ON DEVELOPMENT OF A "CORE" FORCE WHICH COULD BE EXPANDED QUICKLY IN AN EMERGENCY. BUT WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO DO THIS IN A WAY WHICH SACRIFICES SKILL DEVELOPMENTS, WHICH IS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN HOPE TO STAY SUFFICIENTLY TECHNOLOGICALLY ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DEFENSE FIELD THAT WE CAN BE OF VALUE TO YOU, OR TO OURSELVES.

5. IN REPLY, AND IN THE Q&A SESSION WHICH FOLLOWED, CHAIRMAN WOLFF THANKED SIR ARTHUR FOR HIS BRIEFING AND SAID ONE OF THE CENTRAL PURPOSES OF THIS VISIT WAS TO COMPLEMENT THE ALREADY WARM AND CLOSE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. HE ASKED, IF SIR ARTHUR DID NOT THINK THERE WAS AN IMMINENT THREAT TO AUSTRALIA, HOW THE U.S. MIGHT BEST DIRECT ITS ATTENTION IN THE AREA. SIR ARTHUR NOTED THAT PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE U.S. PRESENCE IN THE REGION

WAS HOW IT WAS "PERCEIVED" -- WHETHER IT WAS PERCEIVED AS
ACTING FROM STRENGTH AND REASONED ANALYSIS, OR FROM HASTY
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OR ILL-CONSIDERED JUDGMENTS. HIS TONE IMPLIED THAT HE
WAS CONFIDENT THAT OUR ACTIONS WERE GUIDED BY REASON, BUT
LEFT A CAUTIONARY NOTE DANGLING. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ASKED
HIM TO EXPAND ON HIS REMARKS WITH REFERENCE TO THE
INDIAN OCEAN. SIR ARTHUR REPLIED THAT AUSTRALIA ACCEPTS
FULLY THE WISDOM OF SEEKING BALANCE WITH SOVIET FORCES
AT THE LOWEST FEASIBLE LEVEL, NOTING THAT AUSTRALIA FORCES
AT THE LOWEST FEASIBLE LEVEL, NOTING THAT AUSTRALIA SAW
NO PARTICULAR DANGER FROM THIRD COUNTRIES SUCH AS INDIAN,
IRAN, ETC. BUT AUSTRALIA WOULD BE EXTREMELY RELUCTANT TO
SEE THE U.S. CONTRACT ITSELF OUT OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA.
"HOW THEN COULD YOU HELP AUSTRALIA, UNDER OUR MUTUAL
ANZUS COMMITMENTS, IN SOME NOW-UNFORSEEN CONTINGENCY?"
HE SAID AUSTRALIA WOULD COUNSEL "PROPORTION" IN DEALING
WITH SUCH CONTINGENCIES, AND BALANCE IN STRATEGIC PLANNING,
BUT WARNED " YOU (THE U.S.) NEED TO PRESERVE YOUR
FREEDOM OF ACCESS AND OF ACTION. KEEP DIEGO GARCIA; WHY
GIVE IT AWAY?" CHAIRMAN WOLFF ASKED WHETHER AUSTRALIA
BELIEVED IT HAD ADEQUATE COMMUNICATION WITH THE U.S.--
WHETHER AUSTRALIA FELT WE KEPT IT FULLY INFORMED. SIR
ARTHUR REPLIED " YES, WE ARE QUITE HAPPY WITH THE LEVEL AND
EXTENT OF OUR EXCHANGES." MR. DUBS ASKED WHETHER AUSTRALIA
BELIEVED THAT SOVIET NEEDS FOR SECURE SEA LINES OF COM-
MUNICATION BETWEEN ITS EUROPEAN AND ASIAN AREAS WERE THE
MOTIVATING FACTOR IN ITS PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.
SIR ARTHUR AGREED, REPEATING "WHAT APPEARS TO BE IS OFTEN
MORE IMPORTANT THAN WHAT IS." " I DON'T NEED TO TELL YOU
ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES THAT POPULAR PERCEPTIONS ARE
QUITE IMPORTANT; THE PEOPLE IN PERTH SOMETIMES GET
QUITE NERVOUS WHEN THEY LOOK AT THE LEVEL OF SOVIET
ACTIVITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND THEY ARE NOT REASSURED
BY THEORETICIANS IN CANBERRA WHO TELL THEM THE F-111S
WILL GET THERE IN TIME." DUBS ALSO ASKED ABOUT THE LEVEL
AND EXTENT OF AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA.
SIR ARTHUR (WHO WAS ONCE AUSTRALIA'S HIGH COMMISSIONER IN
INDIA) SAID THE CONTACTS WERE NOT VERY GREAT. THE DIS-
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TANCE FROM AUSTRALIA TO INDIA WAS MORE THAN ONE MIGHT
NORMALLY THINK. BUT, HE NOTED, AUSTRALIA MAINTAINED A
SUBSTANTIAL " FORWARD PRESENCE" WITH ITS THREE SQUADRONS
OF MIRAGES IN MALAYSIA/SINGAPORE, AND A DEFENSE COOPERA-

TION RELATINSHIP WITH INDONESIA, THAILAND, AND THE
PHILIPPINES. CONGRESSMAN MITCHELL ASKED ABOUT AUSTRALIA'S
"CIVIL DEFENSE" CAPABILITY. SIR ARTHUR SAID A COMPARISON
OF COSTS WEIGHED AGAINST THE ASSESSED THREAT MADE IT
DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY DIVERTING ECONOMIC RESOURCES INTO
CIVIL DEFENSE AT THIS JUNCUTRE. REPRESENTATIVE BADHAM
ASKED FOR HIS VIEWS ON KOREA, AND ON ARMS SALES. SIR
ARTHUR REPLIED THAT ON KOREA, AUSTRALIA WAS MOST CONCERNED
THAT THE U.S. DRAW-DOWN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE CLOSEST
CONSULTATION WITH KOREA AND JAPAN SO AS NOT TO USPET THE
EQUILIBRIUM IN THAT AREA. BUT AUSTRALIA, HE SAID, WAS
CONTENT THAT THE U.S. DRAW-DOWN WAS BEING DONE IN THAT
WAY. ONE ARMS SALES, HE SAID AUSTRALIA HOPED THE U.S.
WOULD NOT BE SWAYED FROM LOGIC AND RATIONALE BY FALSE
ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT MORALITY.

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IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO ABANDON A FIELD TO LESS SCRUPULOUS
COMPETITORS. HE NOTED THE TREND TOWARD SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND
SELF-RELIANCE IN DEFESNE MATTERS BY THE NEWLY EMERGING COUNTRIES
OF THE REGION, A TREND HE BELIEVED WAS BENEFICIAL. HE HOPED
WE WOULD CONTINUE AS THE MAJOR ARMS SUPPLIER IN THE REGION,
"PROVIDED IT'S NOT AT AN IMMODEST LEVEL AND PEOPLE DON'T
GO AROUND BEATING THEIR NEIGHBORS OVER THE HEAD WITH

ARMS." HE SAID HE BELIEVED MATTERS WERE HEALTHIER NOW
(WITH THIS SPIRIT OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY) THAN THEY WERE IN
THE '50S WHEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION WERE TOTALLY
DEPENDENT UPON OTHERS FOR THEIR OWN DEFENSE. CHAIRMAN
WOLFF DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN THE VIEWS OF THE ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE,
SAYING HE AGREED THAT SELF-SUFFICIENCY WAS A GOOD GOAL,
BUT NOTED THAT TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST, SOPHISTICATED ARMS
WERE SOUGHT BY "TIN HORN" DICTATORS WHO SIMPLY WANTED
SOMETHING TO PUT IN FRONT OF THEIR OWN EGOS AND THEIR
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OWN PEOPLE. THIS WAS WHAT THE U.S. OPPOSED. WE HAVE TOO
OFTEN SUPPORTED DICTATORSHIPS IN THE PAST,
SUBORDINATING FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY TO POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.
IF WE WITHHELD ARMS FROM DICTATORS, HE SUGGESTED, WE
WOULD DEPRIVE COMMUNISM OF A NATURAL TARGET. WITH RESPECT
TO KOREA, HE CONTINUED, OUR MOVES THERE WERE A "DRAW-DOWN,
NOT A WITHDRAWAL." THE KOREANS ARE PERFECTLY CAPABLE
OF DEFENDING THEMSELVES, AND OF PAYING FOR IT. THE
U.S. WAS AND WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A PACIFIC POWER.
"WE COULDN'T GET SUPPORT FOR A U.S. EFFORT IN ANGOLA,
BUT IF ANYTHING EVER HAPPENED TO AUSTRALIA, I CAN ASSURE
YOU THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD SEE TO IT THAT ANZUS WAS
ALIVE AND WELL." SIR ARTHUR EXPRESSED PARTICULAR APPRE-
CIATION FOR THAT REMARK, AND COMMENTED SIMPLY THAT ONE
MUST NOT NECESSARILY BE OPPOSED TO AUTHORITARIANISM JUST
TO BE A DEMOCRAT -- "A LOT OF PEOPLE BASICALLY HOLD TO
AUTHORITARIAN WAYS OF GOVERNMENT AND LIFE. WE MUST NOT
INSIST UPON THEIR ADOPTING A WAY OF GOVERNMENT WE PREFER
SIMPLY BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IT IS BEST." CHAIRMAN WOLFF
CONCURRED IN PRINCIPLE, NOTING THAT EVEN THE U.S. CONGRESS
OFTEN SPEAKS WITH MANY VOICES, NOT ALL OF THEM ALWAYS IN
AGREEMENT.
ALSTON

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